

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6835

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

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USNATO ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: VAN WELL'S REMARKS AT OTTAWA

REF: A(GENEVA 2204; B) STATE 134395

1. WE WERE STRUCK BY VAN WELL'S CHARACTERIZATION OF APRIL 5 CSCE EVENTS DISCUSSED PARA 3 REF B, AND BELIEVE THEY REFLECT A MISUNDERSTANDING IN BONN WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO CORRECT FOR THE RECORD.

2. REGISTRATION OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS PRINCIPLE CAME AFTER WEEKS OF COMPLICATED AND FRUSTRATINGLY SLOW DEBATE. AT BEGINNING OF THE DEBATE FRG TOOK THE POSITION THAT INVIOABILITY FORMULATION MUST BE CLEAR AND NOT GO FARTHER THAN 1970 FRG-USSR TREATY. IN PRIVATE PLEDGE TO SOVIETS, FRG AGREED TO STAY OUT OF THE DEBATE UNLESS EITHER OF THESE CRITERIA WERE THREATENED. FRG REMAINED FAITHFUL TO THIS COMMITMENT, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHILE INDICATING ITS AGREEMENT TO THE TEXT AS IT

EVOLVED. THROUGHOUT THE DEBATE THE US ATTITUDE WAS TO FOLLOW FRG LEAD ON SUBSTANCE, AND WE REITERATED THIS POLICY TO OUR ALLIES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS. WESTERN DELS WORKED HARD TO FRAME A PRINCIPLE WHICH AVOIDED ANY FLAVOR OF IMMUTABILITY BY DEFINING IN-VIOLABILITY OF FRONTIERS IN TERMS OF A COMMITMENT ONLY NOT TO USE FORCE TO VIOLATE FRONTIERS (SEE REF A, PARA 4) AND BY INCLUDING AN EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO PEACEFUL CHANGES IN FRONTIERS. THOUGH SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS WISHED TO HOLD BACK REGISTRATION OF IN-VIOLABILITY TO USE FOR BARGAINING PURPOSES IN BASKET III, MOST WESTERN DELS WISHED TO SETTLE THE MATTER ON ITS OWN MERTIS. FRG DELEGATION WAS MOST EMPHATIC IN THIS REGARD, SAYING THAT A PROVISION FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE WAS SO IMPORTANT TO THEM THAT THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO HAVE BASKET III QUESTIONS BECOME PART OF THE BARGAINING. SPANISH PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD ON MARCH 22 BORKE IMPASSE BY SUGGESTING REGISTRATION OF A SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE ON A SEPARATE PIECE OF PAPER FOR LATER INCLUSION IN ONE OF THE PRINCIPLES. THIS IDEA WAS ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED TO THE SOVIETS BY THE FRENCH IN PARIS AND WAS ENCOURAGED HERE BY FRG. IN FACT, AFTER BELGIAN AMBASSADOR MADE INITIAL CONTACT WITH SOVIETS ON THIS ISSUE, FRG DELEGATION TOOK THE LEAD IN NEGOTIATING WITH SOVIETS PRIVATELY ON PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION AND ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY CHAIRMAN. WESTERN DELS, INCLUDING FRG DELEGATION, WERE PLEASED WITH FINAL LANGUAGE FOR THE PRINCIPLE AND THE SEPARATE SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE AND FELT IT WAS AN IMPROVEMENT OVER 1970 MOSCOW TREATY.

3. FRG SECOND THOUGHTS ON EMERGING CONSENSUS FOR THE PRINCIPLE WERE MADE KNOWN TO THE ALLIES ONLY IN LAST TWO DAYS BEFORE EASTER BREAK. SPECIFIC FRG DEMANDS WERE CLARIFIED ONLY ON LAST DAY, AND THEY REPRESENTED A FAR TOUGHER POSITION THAN THAT EARLIER TAKEN BY HARDLINERS SUCH AS NETHERLANDS AND ITALY WHO, IN THE INTERIM, HAD DECIDED TO ACCEPT CONSENSUS TEXT. THE SUDDEN FRG PULLBACK WAS APPARENTLY THE RESULT OF LAST-
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MINUTE CONSIDERATION OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DEAL BY HIGH OFFICIALS IN BONN. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WAS THE UNANIMOUS VIEW THAT FRG WAS ABANDONING ITS ALLIES AND NOT VICE VERSA.

4. WHEN FRG MADE DEMANDS KNOWN, VIRTUALLY ALL ALLIES, INCLUDING US, AGREED THAT BACKING OUT OF DEAL WOULD DEFER SOLUTION UNTIL AFTER EASTER WHEN REMOVAL OF

OBVIOUS TIME PRESSURE ON SOVIETS COULD RESULT IN LESS FAVORABLE TERMS. MOREOVER, BACKING OUT AT LAST MINUTE MIGHT GIVE RISE TO CHARGES OF BAD FAITH AND RISK DESTROYING REMAINING CHANCES FOR SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE CONCLUSION IN FORSEEABLE FUTURE. NEVERTHELESS, ALLIES, INCLUDING US, FAVE AND HONORED AGREEMENT NOT TO SPEAK AGAINST FRG IN IPEN MEETING.

5. FYI. SINCE EASTER, BONN'S MISGIVINGS, OFTEN VOICED AT LAST MINUTE, HAVE BEEN UNPREDICTABLE FACTOR GIVING RISE TO SOME IMPATIENCE IN PRINCIPLES SUB-COMMITTEE (AS WELL AS CREATING PROBLEMS IN CERTAIN AREAS OF BASKET III). TO BUFFER FRG EMBARRASSMENT, WE HAVE OCCASIONALLY VOICED SOME SUPPORT FOR THEM IN CAUCUS AND EVEN IN OPEN SESSION. HOWEVER, OUR FRANK VIEW IS THAT IF BONN WISHES ITS VIEWS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THEY SHOULD BE COMMUNICATED IN TIME AND SHOULD REFLECT THE REAL NEGOTIATING SITUATION HERE. END FYI. DALE

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